

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, PINT, UR, US

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: COUNTRY ACTION PLAN FOR THE USSR

1. COUNTRY ACTION PLANS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ARE BEING PREPARED BY ALL COUNTRY OFFICES IN DEPARTMENT. FOLLOWING ARE "OBJECTIVES" AND "RECOMMENDATIONS" SECTIONS OF USSR PLAN. FULL COPY BEING POUCHED TO EMBASSY POLITICAL SECTION. WOULD APPRECIATE POSTS' COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS BY COB FRIDAY, JUNE 24.

2. "US OBJECTIVES

1) IN GENERAL TO PROMOTE GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR IN WAYS WHICH ARE PRODUCTIVE AND DO NOT UNDERMINE THE PAINFULLY SLOW PROGRESS WHICH IS BEING MADE.

2) IN THE SHORT RUN, TO SEEK TO DIVERT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES FROM THE CURRENT EXCESSIVELY REPRESSIVE ACTIONS AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS AND EMIGRATION ADVOCATES.
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3) IN THE LONGER TERM, TO CONVINCE THE SOVIETS THAT THE KIND OF CONSTRUCTIVE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, WHICH IS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES, IS INEVITABLY AFFECTED BY THE WAY THEY TREAT THEIR OWN CITIZENS AND TO USE THE MEANS

AVAILABLE TO US, SUCH AS THE CSCE MECHANISM AND THE BELGRADE MEETING, TO BRING THEM CLOSER TO ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

4) TO ENSURE THAT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS ARE NOT

EXPRESSED IN OVERLY RIGID TERMS WHICH LEAD THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP TO BELIEVE THAT OUR AIM IS TO UNDERMINE THEIR INTERNAL POLITICAL SYSTEM OR THEIR POSITION IN EASTERN EUROPE, WHICH COULD HAVE THE RESULT OF REDUCING THEIR INCLINATION TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS ARMS CONTROLS NEGOTIATIONS AND OTHER BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL COOPERATIVE ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THEM.

5) TO ASSURE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND CONGRESS, WHOSE SUPPORT FOR PROGRESS IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS IS INDISPENS-
ABLE, THAT OUR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE APPROACHES TO THE SOVIET UNION EXPRESS BASIC AMERICAN VALUES AND ASPIRATIONS AND THAT PROMOTION OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

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III. RECOMMENDATIONS.

IN ORDER TO PROMOTE THE SHORT AND LONG TERM OBJECTIVES LISTED ABOVE, WE RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

1) PICK CASES CAREFULLY. THE SECRETARY HAS SAID THAT WE WILL SPEAK OUT FROM TIME TO TIME ON HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS. PICKING OUR CASES CAREFULLY CAN MAXIMIZE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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EFFECT WE CAN HAVE. WE NEED NOT TAKE A PUBLIC STANCE ON EVERY HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION, BUT WE SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO SPEAK OUT ON IMPORTANT CASES WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANT. THE DEPARTMENT'S AND THE WHITE HOUSE'S RECENT STATEMENTS ON THE SHCHARANSKIY CASE ARE GOOD EXAMPLES. THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET TREATMENT OF SHCHARANSKIY HAS STIMULATED SUCH GREAT PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN HERE AND THAT HE WAS FALSELY ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN WORKING FOR US INTELLIGENCE PROVIDED A BASIS FOR GOING PUBLIC IN THIS CASE.

2) RAISE CASES PRIVATELY WITH SOVIETS BEFORE GOING PUBLIC. GENERALLY WE SHOULD RAISE PROBLEMS PRIVATELY WITH THE SOVIETS BEFORE GOING PUBLIC IN ORDER TO FOREWARN THEM OF OUR CONCERN AND GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO ACT IN A MORE RESTRAINED WAY. THIS WAS DONE EARLIER IN THE SHCHARANSKIY CASE AND OTHERS, AND WE SHOULD CONTINUE THIS APPROACH IN FUTURE SPECIFIC CASES OF INTEREST. OUR BEST WEAPON HERE IS THE PROVEN CAPACITY OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO PUT THE BRAKES ON PROGRESS IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS. WE NEED TO EDUCATE THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FULLY TO THIS FACT OF POLITICAL LIFE. WE CAN BEST ACCOMPLISH THIS THROUGH A CAREFUL CONTINUATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DIPLOMACY.

3). PUSH FOR EMIGRATION AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION. IT IS CLEAR THAT, AT LEAST IN THE SHORT RUN, WE CAN HAVE LIT-

TLE EFFECT ON THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND THAT THE SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE TO USE REPRESSION AS A MEANS OF COMBATING INTERNAL DISSENT FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. WE CAN, HOWEVER, CONTINUE AND INCREASE OUR EFFORTS IN AREAS IN WHICH THEY HAVE SHOWN SOME RESTRAINT AND FLEXIBILITY. EMIGRATION AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION ARE MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN WHICH WE HAVE HAD SOME INFLUENCE AND WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PUSH FOR PROGRESS. BESIDES THE DESIRABILITY OF SUPPORTING THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE OF THE RIGHT TO LEAVE ONE'S COUNTRY, EMIGRATION ALSO PROVIDES AN "ESCAPE VALVE" FOR DISSENTERS WHEN THEIR SITUATION IS SO DIRE THAT THEY
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FACE HARSH PUNISHMENT. OUR APPROACHES TO THE SOVIETS CAN EMPHASIZE THAT THIS OPTION IS FAR MORE ACCEPTABLE IN THE WEST THAN IMPRISONMENT OR OTHER REPRESSIVE SOVIET ACTIONS.

4) USE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AS A TOOL. IN APPROACHING THE SOVIETS ON HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS, WE HAVE A HISTORY OF DIRECT BILATERAL APPROACHES. WE HAVE PRESENTED "REPRESENTATION LISTS" OF DIVIDED FAMILIES FOR EIGHTEEN YEARS AND SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE THROUGH OUR PERSISTENT EFFORTS. SOVIET COMMITMENTS ON SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS-RELATED ISSUES UNDER THE CSCE PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH TO MAKE SUCH APPROACHES AND A COMMON BASIS ON WHICH ALL THE WESTERN COUNTRIES CAN PRESS THE SOVIETS FOR PROGRESS ON HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO USE THE CSCE TOOL TO FURTHER OUR EFFORTS TO REUNITE FAMILIES AND IN OTHER ISSUES. OVER THE LONG RUN OUR OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TOWARD HIGHER LEVELS OF EMIGRATION BASED ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION. THE BELGRADE MEETING THIS FALL CAN PROVIDE IMPETUS TO OUR EFFORTS, PARTICULARLY IF WE CAN AVOID UNPRODUCTIVE POLEMICS WHILE REVIEWING THE RECORD AND PUSHING FOR PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTATION.

5) GIVE SOVIETS CREDIT WHEN THEY DESERVE IT. GIVE THE SOVIETS CREDIT AND ENCOURAGEMENT PUBLICLY WHEN THEY ACT POSITIVELY -- AS THE PRESIDENT DID WHEN HE MENTIONED THEIR IMPROVED EMIGRATION PERFORMANCE IN ONE OF HIS PRESS CONFERENCES -- WHILE POINTING OUT WHERE FURTHER PROGRESS IS NEEDED. THIS IS A USEFUL WAY OF SHOWING OUR BALANCE AND OBJECTIVITY.

6) APPLY HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORTS WORLDWIDE. THE INITIAL FOCUS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS WAS ON THE SOVIETS AND THE CZECHS. IN ORDER TO AVOID AN APPEARANCE OF WAGING A CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM, WHICH WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO OUR GOALS, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO
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SPEAK OUT MORE ASSERTIVELY ON HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN OTHER COUNTRIES WHEN CASES PRESENT THEMSELVES. WE CAN HELP MINIMIZE ADVERSE SOVIET REACTION TO OUR POSITION IF OUR POLICY IS SEEN AS A WORLDWIDE ONE AND NOT DIRECTED ONLY AGAINST COMMUNIST STATES.

7) USE MULTILATERAL FORA. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH MULTILATERAL FORA SUCH AS THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. OUR FIRST EFFORTS TO RAISE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THE SOVIET UNION IN THE COMMISSION HAVE HAD MIXED RESULTS, BUT AT LEAST THE ISSUE WAS RAISED AND A DEGREE OF SUPPORT FROM THE OTHER MEMBERS WAS SHOWN.

8) CULTIVATE ALLIED SUPPORT. IN PURSUING OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, WE SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO BRING OUR ALLIES AND THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES INTO POSITIONS SUPPORTING OURS. IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT GET OUT OF STEP WITH OUR ALLIES, WHICH WOULD OPEN THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SOVIETS TO SPLIT THE WEST ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. IT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS IF LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES COULD CARRY THE BALL IN THIS AREA MORE OFTEN, SO THAT WE ARE NOT ALWAYS OUT IN FRONT.

9) GIVE EQUAL EMPHASIS TO OTHER TRACKS OF OUR POLICY. SPEAKING OUT ON HUMAN RIGHTS MAY BE MORE TOLERABLE TO MOSCOW, AND WE MAY BE ABLE TO GET MORE DONE, IF WE MAINTAIN AT LEAST EQUAL EMPHASIS ON OTHER TRACKS OF OUR POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. PROGRESS ON SALT, ARMS LIMITATIONS, CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES, TRADE, ETC., WILL EMPHASIZE OUR WILLINGNESS TO MAKE PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS AND PROVIDE A BASIS FOR THE SOVIETS TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO OUR HUMAN RIGHTS APPROACHES. WE CAN TAKE THIS LINE IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, EMPHASIZING THAT WHILE WE DO NOT DIRECTLY LINK HUMAN RIGHTS WITH OTHER
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ISSUES, PROGRESS ON THAT FRONT WILL MAKE THE ATMOSPHERE MORE CONDUCTIVE TO ESTABLISHING A BROAD, MORE PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THEM.

10) KEEP OUR PUBLIC INFORMED. PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR OUR POLICIES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION CAN MORE EASILY BE ATTAINED NOT ONLY THROUGH THE PERCEPTION THAT OUR POLICY IS INFUSED WITH BASIC AMERICAN VALUES, BUT ALSO THROUGH FRANK EXPLANATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE REALITIES OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION. OUR COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE CSCE COMMISSION CAN BE USEFUL IN THIS REGARD.

WE NEED TO PREPARE OUR PEOPLE FOR PAINSTAKINGLY SLOW PROGRESS, WHICH IS ALL WE CAN EXPECT, AND TO DISPEL ANY NOTION THAT OUR ACTIONS WILL BRING RAPID CHANGE TO THE SOVIET SYSTEM.

11) ACKNOWLEDGE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS. THE SOVIETS CONSISTENTLY EMPHASIZE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS IN SPEAKING OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ALLEGING THAT UNEMPLOYMENT, RACIAL PROBLEMS, HIGH EDUCATIONAL, MEDICAL COSTS IN THE WEST ARE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE SHOULD PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM AS PART OF AN EFFORT TO ESCAPE SOVIET CRITICISM THAT WE ARE CONCERNED ONLY WITH CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. CHRISTOPHER

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